

# RECUSANT HISTORY

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## ANTONY MUNDAY IN ROME

By ANTHONY KENNY

Antony Munday, in his book *The English Romaine Life*, described the customs of the English College in Rome and narrated the mutiny of the English scholars against their first Rector, the Welshman Dr. Morus Clynnog. He claimed to base his account on his own stay in the College, as 'the Pope's scholar,' during the troubles. However, in all the records of this over-documented squabble, no trace has hitherto been found of his name: it is absent, for example, from the earliest published list of English College scholars in the *Liber Ruber* or College diary. For this reason, it has sometimes been doubted whether Munday was ever in the College at all.

Such doubts can now be shown to be unfounded. Recently Fr. Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., discovered in the Vatican Library the papers of Cardinal Morone, the Protector of England in the relevant year, 1579. These papers contain two lists of the scholars of the English College. The first, which lists the scholars by classes as 'theologi' 'physici' 'logici' etc., is Vat. Lat. 12159,123; the second, Vat. Lat. 12159,201, lists not only the scholars but also the superiors and servants. I shall call these lists A and B respectively. Both lists are earlier than the list in the *Liber Ruber*: on internal evidence they can be dated between the beginning of January and the middle of March, 1579.<sup>1</sup> Both lists consist entirely of names which figure in the *Liber Ruber* list<sup>2</sup>, with the following exceptions. List A contains, besides the *Liber Ruber* names, two 'humanistae' or grammar-students, whose names are given as 'Thomas' and 'Antonius.' List B contains three additional names: 'Thomasso Vuilliams,' 'Antonius Auleus' and 'Thomas Novellus.' The two latter names occur at the end of the list, breaking the alphabetical order in which the other names appear.

It seems obvious that the 'Antonius Auleus' and the 'Thomas Novellus' who appear at the end of list B are the same as the two humanists, Thomas and Antony, who appear at the end of list A. 'Thomasso

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Vuilliamie' is no doubt an Italianisation of the Welsh name Thomas Williams. Further light seems to be cast on this name by a letter of Owen Lewis written to Cardinal Morone on 28 March, 1579, shortly after the dismissal from the Rectorship of his protégé, Dr. Clynnog. Lewis wrote: 'Rogo I.D.V. ut mandet admitti in scholarem seminarii Thomam Britannum puerum 17 annorum, faelicissimi ingenii et doctiorem (ut audio) illis duobus grammaticis qui nuper irrepserunt in matriculam scholarium ad faciendum numerum coram S.S. Hic iam diu vixit extra numerum et mensam scholarium in hospitali quia adhuc non discit logicam, et iam, opinor, excludetur nisi I.D.V. iubeat eum admitti.'<sup>3</sup> Whether or not this seventeen-year-old Welsh boy is the Thomas Williams of list B, it seems certain that the two intruding grammarians whom Lewis mentions are the same as Thomas and Antony, the only 'humanistae' listed in list A.

From the Morone papers, therefore, we derive the following information. Some time in the first months of 1579, in addition to the scholars known from the *Liber Ruber* list, there were in the English College two grammarians, calling themselves 'Antonius Auleus' and 'Thomas Novellus,' to whose admission Owen Lewis objected, and who appeared with the other scholars of the anti-Welsh faction in an audience with Pope Gregory XIII.

But this squares exactly with Munday's story in *The English Romaine Life*.<sup>4</sup> Munday says that 'beeing accompanied with one Thomas Nowell' (p.2), he arrived in Rome 'upon Candlemas even' (p.17), and entered the English College the following day under an assumed surname (pp.19, 25). 'When I had been there a pretty while' he writes, 'Dr. Morris . . . would not suffer me to tarry any longer in the College . . . The schollers understanding this . . . agreed to take my parte . . . they bad me stick to them, and if I went away, they would goe away too.' He then describes how the scholars petitioned Cardinal Morone for his admission, without avail. 'And now I must out of the Colledge there was no other remedy: but yet thoro entreaty of the Iesuites, I had leave for a fortnight to lye in a very sweete chamber, filled with old rusty Iron' (p. 85).

Having told how the English scholars were expelled from the College upon Shrove Tuesday, he adds: 'When they were come to the Colledge



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every man trussed up his needfull things, determining on the next morning to depart: then came Doctor Morris to me and my fellow, willing us to stay, because the other would be gon, and he would stand our freend marvailously. Trust me no Sir (quoth I) since you would not stand my freende when I was in great neede, now I meane not to receive your courtesie when I care not for it: for since the students have stooode my freendes so much, and you mine enemie so greatly, I will beare a share in their travaile how ever I speede.' (p.90).

This part of Munday's story is further corroborated by Fr. Persons. In a letter to Fr. Goode describing the expulsion of the English scholars, he wrote: 'In this act one thing fell out pretily. There were two youths sent and arrived at Rome a month before this act fell out, and by no meanes could be admitted into the Seminary, but had their answer from the Cardinall twice to depart againe . . . Whereupon the schollers themselves went to the Cardinall requesting him that, seeing these youthes were like to perishe in the streets for want, that his Grace would be content to give them leave to divide their portion with them, and so save them from perishing. This was Mr. Martyn Array his request with others, wherewith the Cardinall seemed somewhat moved, but yet commanded them to shift for themselves for the present, notwithstanding he would talke with his Holynes about them: and after having talked, I thinke Mr. Morrice brought a new commandment for them to depart, for that they could not be received. But within two days after, when all the English schollers were departed the Seminary, signification was given them that they might have new places; but they would not, and retired themselves to the house of the schollers, meaning to depart Rome with them.'<sup>5</sup>

The coincidences are so great that it seems certain that Munday was both the 'Antonius Auleus' of the Morone papers and one of the unnamed scholars of Fr. Persons's letter. On Ash Wednesday, March 4th, 1579, the expelled scholars, on the point of leaving Rome, had an audience with Gregory XIII; the Pope, overcome with emotion, reinstated them in the College, dismissed the Rector, and granted all their requests.<sup>6a</sup> Munday and Nowell were readmitted with the others: according to Fr. Persons 'ther hence the Pope sent them to the Seminary with the rest, and by this meanes they got their interest as the others'. 'Thus was the strife

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ended' wrote Munday 'and my selfe and my fellowe, admitted by the Popes owne consent, to be schollers there'. (p.94).

Munday did not remain long in the College. From Lewis's letter we know that he was there on March 28th, and from allusions in *The English Romaine Life* (e.g. to Bishop Goldwell's baptising of the Jews on Easter Eve) it appears that he was in Rome for Easter (April 19). Neither Munday nor Nowell were among the scholars to whom the missionary oath was tendered on April 23. Nowell was later inscribed in the register of students, and took the oath in the following March; but Munday's name was never entered into the *Liber Ruber*.<sup>6</sup> The Douai Diary has the following entry for July 9, 1579: 'per Parisios Roma redierunt D. Askeu presbyter, iuvenis quidam dictus Lovel, et cum his alius iuvenis dictus Antonius, et hic paucos post dies in Angliam migravit.' The Antony here mentioned is probably Munday: if so, he must have left Rome in May, which is given in the *Liber Ruber* as the date of Askew's departure.<sup>7</sup>

## NOTES

1. List B, which contains the names of the superiors, must have been written between the departure of Fr. John Paul Navarola (early January) and the dismissal of Clynnog (19 March). List A, from its composition, must be contemporary with List B. Neither list contains any of the scholars who left Rheims on 16 February 1579. (Cf. C.R.S. ii, 144ff; Tierney's Dodd, ii. ccclxxii.)
2. List A contains nos. 1-40 of the *Liber Ruber* list (with the name 'Gu. Foster' instead of William Tedder) plus John Pascal, the convictor who is no. 50 in L.R. List B contains nos. 1-40 plus Pascal minus Robinson (no. 26). Nos. 1-50 of the *Liber Ruber* are the fifty students to whom the missionary oath was tendered on 23 April 1579; of these, nos. 41-48 left Douai on 16 February 1579 and cannot have arrived in Rome before the middle of March. The list is in C.R.S. xxxvii, 9ff.
3. Vat. Lat. 12159, 152. ["I request that your Eminence give instruction that Thomas, a Welsh boy of seventeen years, of very promising character and more learned (as I hear) than those two grammarians who lately intruded themselves into the register of students to make up the number in the presence of his Holiness, be admitted as a student of the seminary. He has lived here

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for a long time without being on the strength of the students in the hostel or partaking of their board, because up till now he has not learned logic, and now, I think, he will be excluded unless your Eminence orders that he be admitted."]

4. All page references are to the Bodley Head edition.
5. C.R.S. xxxix,22-23.
6. Nowell is no. 51 in the *Liber Ruber*, entered April 29.
- 6a. Douay Diaries I & II, ed. T. F. Knox, p.154. [" There returned from Rome by way of Paris Mr. Askew, priest, a certain young man called Lovel, and with them another young man called Antony, and the last-named proceeded to England after a few days ".]
7. Foley, vi,67. Lovell is one of the three scholars who refused the missionary oath (*Liber Ruber* no. 40). Munday was the only Antony in the College at this time, with the exception of Antony Tyrell, who remained in Rome until a later period.



# THE EMBASSY OF SIR ANTHONY STANDEN IN 1603.

*By* L. HICKS, S.J.

## PART III

It has already been stated that, on the 17 September, 1603, Standen, while at Florence, sent his companion, Edmund Thornhill, Canon of Vicenza, to Rome to ask for the Pope's blessing and for some spiritual favours.<sup>1</sup> Thus began that Roman episode which on his return to England led to his downfall.

To Standen's request Clement VIII's reply was immediate and bountiful. On the 24 September, in a letter to the Canon after his departure from Rome, the Papal Secretary of State wrote:

"Reverend Edmund, Sir Anthony Standen having sent you to ask for the Pope's blessing and for some indulgences, his Holiness not only imparts his blessing to him most willingly and prays God to give him a happy and prosperous journey, but charges you to make known to Sir Anthony his particular regard for him, seeing he has very assured reports from many parts that not only has this knight remained a good Catholic, but is pious, devout and zealous for our holy faith.<sup>2</sup> All this you will tell him you have learnt from the mouth of the Pope himself, as indeed you have. His Holiness, in consequence, desires to show Sir Anthony favour, and since he has confidence in his piety and zeal, he begs him to do good offices with the King and his Council not only as regards the conversion of his Majesty, but also on behalf of his Catholic subjects, assuring everyone that his Holiness has but one aim in view, namely, the salvation of the king and of those souls. This, indeed, he has so much at heart that he would willingly shed his blood for that cause, and offers constant prayer to God for that same intention. 163

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“ You will, therefore, inform Sir Anthony of this and beg him to give testimony to the King of the affection that the Pope has had, and continues to have, for him, and to notify him that his Holiness has ordered Catholics of that realm to obey his Majesty and forbidden them to enter into any intrigue against him or his kingdom.

“ To the rosaries you are taking back to Sir Anthony, his Holiness has attached the following: to one who for a month says daily a rosary on these beads, a plenary indulgence once a month, provided the person prays to God for the restoration of the Catholic faith in England and for the conversion of the King. The same he grants to whoever carries on him one of these rosaries, every time he goes to confession and receives communion, whether in public or in secret. The number of such rosaries, however, with the above indulgences attached to them, he limits to twenty, besides the one for Sir Anthony himself to which he grants the same indulgences.

“ Further, the Holy Father sends to Sir Anthony a rosary with the same indulgences attached to it, together with a small cross containing a relic of the true cross of our Saviour, Jesus Christ. This rosary Sir Anthony will give to the Queen, telling her that on account of the reports that the Pope has heard of her piety and of her professing the Catholic faith, he holds her in very particular regard and is most desirous to do her every favour. By her means he hopes that not only may Catholics enjoy peace and tranquillity, and the faith increase, but that the King, her husband, may be converted. He begs her, therefore, to promote the one and the other intrepidly since God, *qui facit salutem in manu feminae*, will vouchsafe her his aid, as already he has given her courage at the coronation not to participate with the heretics in their pseudo-communion. This his Holiness has heard from the current reports and has been much edified by it; and he has conceived great hope from the help her Majesty can give, begging her as earnestly as he can, out of her zeal for the service of God and for our holy faith, to use the influence she has with the King, and in particular to bring up her children in the Catholic faith,<sup>3</sup> for this will be the way to ensure for them in the future true and quiet possession of their kingdoms.



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“The Pope asks Sir Anthony to assure the Queen that if she be pleased to hold good intelligence with his Holiness, he will correspond with such true and sincere affection as she herself could desire from a most loving father ; and all this for the purpose expressed above.

“By this mission to the Queen Sir Anthony will give great satisfaction to the Holy Father ; and should Sir Anthony have anything further to mention as regards the salvation of the King and his kingdom, his Holiness will bear in mind what he reports as coming from so prudent a person.<sup>4</sup> For this reason he would have been highly pleased to see him in person in Rome, and, indeed, he greatly desired it ; but having understood from you the reasons and grounds which prevented him from appearing here, the Pope approves of them, and is satisfied with the hope he entertains that all that he would have said to Sir Anthony personally, namely, what is written above ; all, I say, will be explained by you, having regard to that zeal and charity which the Holy Father expects from Sir Anthony’s filial obedience to his Holiness and to this holy see, to which he may look to receive every favour,

Given in Belvedere the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 1603 ;  
Cardinal Aldobrandino

In addition to the rosary and the small cross which are for her Majesty the Queen, and one for Sir Anthony, his Holiness sends her Majesty three rosaries and one of fifteen decades, three painted miniatures and an Agnus Dei with relics.

Il Card.S.Marcello  
Cc Profonotario Valenti.”<sup>6</sup>

What strikes the student of this negotiation is the lack of insight shown by the papal authorities into the character of the men employed in it, such as Standen himself and Canon Thornhill, as well as the misapprehension of the disposition of James himself and of the real situation in England. The first of these failings was probably due to the deception practised by these men, which was certainly deliberate on Thornhill’s part,

as will be shown later. The second may be ascribed partly to the unreliable reports of the nuncios in France and Flanders, and partly to the cautious and deceptive conduct of James and his chief councillor Cecil during the first months of his reign.<sup>5a</sup>

Thornhill's journey to Rome had not been the first step in this negotiation. The question of Standen's mission to the Queen and of his bearing gifts to her from the Pope had been broached and decided before that journey. The matter was mentioned as already determined, in letters to Standen from Rome dated 12 September 1603, in which the knight was warned not to do anything that might vex the King, and, indeed, was expressly forbidden to take any steps in the matter without previously ascertaining the wishes of his Majesty. It should further be noted that the initiative was Standen's, the gifts being sent at his request and under the pretence that the Queen had expressed a desire for them. That in this he was giving a true picture of the Queen's wishes there is no evidence: the documents suggest the contrary.<sup>6</sup>

For the privileges conceded to him and for the promptness of the Pope's answer to his request, Standen in an undated letter from Florence expressed his gratitude in a somewhat effusive manner. From the distribution of the favours granted he hoped some good effect would follow in England, for which, indeed, he would not shrink from shedding his blood—a disposition, be it remarked, hardly in keeping with his former occupation as a spy of the English Government, nor, as will appear later, with his actual conduct when, on his return to England, he found that his negotiations with Rome had been discovered.<sup>7</sup>

Thornhill, too, in a letter to Aldobrandino, typical of his effusive style, informed the Cardinal that he had executed the commission entrusted to him, and revealed the attitude of the Grand Duke in this affair, or at least what Thornhill conceived it to be. He wrote:

“With the deepest humility and reverence I thank your Eminence for your very great kindness to me, your most lowly and devoted servant. Cardinal Martello [sic] and my Rev. Father Pietro Peracchione have also shown such charity to me that I cannot possibly repay it except through God and your illustrious person.<sup>8</sup> On the

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part of his Holiness and your Eminence I gave my report secretly to the Ambassador from England [Standen] and handed him the holy objects all in good condition, as you will have already understood from the said ambassador's letter to yourself. He, however, not being able to restrain himself any longer on account of his joyful devotion (which, I take it, was God's will), immediately showed them to the Grand Duke and Duchess. Both very devoutly expressed great praise for the gift and for the zeal of his Holiness and your Eminence, and warmly exhorted the ambassador to work with great heart and spirit for the conversion of the King and his kingdom. Standen was, thus, very much more consoled and confirmed in his holy enterprise, and resolutely determined to spare no labour, nor life itself, in that cause. Then the Grand Duke, summoning me to his presence, made a most pious discourse in praise of our Lord Clement VIII, concluding it by saying that since the time of S. Peter there had never been a greater Pope in the church, and adding that if, as his Holiness desires, all other Catholic princes were willing to work in union with his Holiness against the enemies of holy church, within a few years there would be neither Turk nor heretic in the world. And this I vouch to your Eminence, of whom their Highnesses are most devoted and faithful servants, that the Grand Duke uttered these and similar words with such spirit that it brought tears to my eyes. 'I confess,' said he, 'that I have not the perfection of a Capuchin, but I am a Christian in my own grade, and desire to keep that grade without having that of others; for I know that all things of the world are vain and transitory, and for that reason I would to God occasion be given to me, in the good company of other Catholic princes, of spending myself, even with the loss of my life, for that holy faith.'<sup>9</sup> Spiritus ubi vult spirat, your Eminence: hence that same holy Spirit that led his Holiness and you to show so great, singular, and loving zeal for the salvation of England, has also inspired the Grand Duke with these holy and heroic desires.

"Sir Anthony Standen, the ambassador from England, left Florence on October 7 in very good heart. Having arrived at Livorno, he wrote me a most affectionate and pious letter on the 9<sup>th</sup>, commanding me



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anew heartily to thank your Eminence and to kiss your robe for him most devoutly. He also begged me to keep him in favour with his Holiness, Clement VIII, adding that he would not fail to do his duty in England, even should need be, at the expense of his life.

“ And so, beseeching his Divine Majesty out of regard for your merits and for the benefit of holy church, to preserve his Holiness and your Eminence, I express my deepest reverence on bended knee.

From Bologna the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1603

Your Eminence's most devoted and bounden servant,

Your Englishman.”<sup>10</sup>

Having thus been employed to convey the papal presents and instructions to Standen, the Canon evidently considered himself a principal agent in the business and an important factor for its future success,<sup>11</sup> and for the next few months from Bologna, where he was preparing to take his doctorate in civil and canon law, he corresponded with Vinta on the subject. In view of his later activities, it may be well to give some account of this correspondence, and it may be said at once that his letters leave none too favourable an impression of the writer. Apart from other characteristics there is throughout a note of exaggeration.<sup>12</sup>

In his first letter, as he is unknown to the secretary,<sup>13</sup> he gives as it were, his credentials. He suggests that by dexterous enquiry the Grand Duke's agent in Venice can learn what opinion of Thornhill his fellow-Englishmen there hold. If the agent find but one Englishman of whatever quality or condition who does not speak well of him, or does not avouch that, for the space of fourteen years, he has ever served his country and assisted all his compatriots in their needs, he will be content to lose Vinta's favour and that of the Grand Duke. As he said to the secretary's daughter, his deeds speak for themselves: he needs no other testimony.<sup>14</sup> He insists that he will use no flattery, which he has always avoided like the plague. Yet in the very same letter he asserts that because the Grand Duke is inflamed with zeal against the enemies of God and the church, he can be called ‘il maggiore principe nella Christianità’; and he adds that without a doubt, as will be seen within a few years, the Divine

Majesty will so aggrandize his position that “di grand’ diventurà grandissimo.”<sup>15</sup>

As for himself, he is a slave of the Grand Duke, fettered to the great zeal of his Highness, and he desires to serve him without any imaginable self-interest, even at the cost of his life.<sup>16</sup> The favour and protection of the Grand Duke he considers the greatest gift in the world apart from the grace of God.<sup>17</sup> Because, however, he has been favoured by the Pope and some of the principal cardinals, and is a doctor of theology and philosophy and on his way to receive a doctorate in civil and canon law, some Englishmen who follow the court of Rome, think he is ambitious and will go to that city to carve out a career there. But it is not so. Let them but see to maintaining him in his state and position throughout his life and he will be content to take a vow never to change it, as, in truth, he has no thought or hope of doing.<sup>18</sup> With all this, it is surprising how many times in these few letters he beseeches Vinta to keep him in favour with the Grand Duke.<sup>19</sup>

Some of his phrases smack of mock humility, and his piety at times is decidedly unctuous.<sup>20</sup> It is also remarkable with what frequency he protests that his only aim is God’s glory, the good of the church and the conversion of his country:<sup>21</sup> in fact he protests too much, where there is little, if any, need of it; and this raises the suspicion that his motives were not always what he asserted they were—a suspicion confirmed by his activities, which are more revealing than mere words. Allied to these protestations is the assertion of his readiness to shed his blood for different causes. He is ready to sacrifice his life in order to serve the Grand Duke,<sup>22</sup> to liberate Standen after his arrest and imprisonment, and, stranger still, to promote the Catholic cause in England—a truly surprising statement coming from one who, after leaving the English College in Rome, did not go, as did others at great risk of life to the English mission, but sought a safe post in Italy.<sup>23</sup> It is true, however, that in 1603 he desired to repair to England, for he thought, so he reports, that he could do some good there, but his stay was to be only for three or four months. Standen, in fact, had promised to use all diligence in obtaining from the English Government a safe-conduct for him on the pretext of his visiting his father, brother and friends.<sup>24</sup> A little later the rumour that the new Bishop of

Vicenza was to be made a cardinal and sent to England as legate raises his hopes,<sup>25</sup> for he thinks that the bishop will need some Englishman to accompany him, and would prefer one of his own staff, none other than the Canon himself. He suggests that the Grand Duke and Vinta might help in the matter<sup>26</sup>. He would, indeed, go without a safe-conduct, but fears that the arch-heretics might capture him on landing and keep him in prison so that he would not be able to do much good nor be permitted to return to Italy. These fears hardly appear consonant with the readiness, expressed in the very same letter,<sup>27</sup> to shed his blood for the cause. This desire of his to visit England was, in fact, not new. Already in 1602 he had expressed to an intelligencer of Cecil the same desire, together with a request for a safe-conduct. But his real purpose was to impart to Cecil information that would be advantageous to the English Government,<sup>28</sup> and when in 1604 he did eventually achieve his desire, this is what he tried to do. But despite his being warmly recommended by the English Ambassador in Paris as a most promising spy, he was not granted a safe-conduct, nor would Cecil or the King give him an interview during his very short stay in his native country.<sup>29</sup>

As for the business itself that Standen had undertaken, Thornhill looks forward to great good resulting from it, but the Grand Duke should write to the knight, animating him to persevere in it, as well for the honour of God and holy church, as for that of the King and his realm, and even for Standen's own honour.<sup>30</sup> He asks Vinta to send to Standen in the Tuscan diplomatic post-bag three letters: one from Cardinal Aldobrandino to the knight; a second, that of the Cardinal to Thornhill, quoted above, and a third from the Canon himself, encouraging Standen in his task and begging him to obtain for the Canon a safe-conduct to visit England for a short time.<sup>31</sup> Standen must reply to Aldobrandino's letter and get the Queen also to write a note of thanks to the Pope, to be enclosed in Standen's letter to the Cardinal. Both these letters should be sent, no doubt in the diplomatic post-bag, to Vinta, who could then forward them to the papal Secretary of State, or better, should be forwarded to Thornhill, to avoid all suspicion and to give the Canon the opportunity of following up the matter.<sup>32</sup> Standen should be advised to use this means of sending letters.



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If he brings the business to a successful conclusion, the knight will surely be made a cardinal ; for the Pope and Aldobrandino have conceived a regard for him. Moreover, as Cardinal San Marcello told the Canon, the Queen will be able to obtain whatever she desires from his Holiness, so much so that, if the creation of one cardinal does not suffice for her, she will obtain two or three: one for England, who will be head of the Catholics there, another for Scotland and a third for Ireland. Even as a matter of state this should be approved of and welcomed by the King, for it will relieve him of all suspicion of tumult and rebellion on the part of his Catholic subjects, so that in a short time he will give them liberty of conscience, and, the grace of God aiding, these prelates by the prudent and diligent work of the clergy will convert to the faith the King and the whole people.<sup>33</sup>

The authorities in Rome, he reports to Vinta in another letter, eagerly await news of Standen. The Canon informed them that he had forwarded the letters to the knight by a most secure way by means of a Catholic, but did not wish to say more till the matter had been brought to a good issue. In other words he concealed from the Roman authorities that he had used the Tuscan diplomatic post-bag and sent the letters by Vinta.<sup>34</sup> But success once achieved, he will reveal the favour granted by the Grand Duke, so that his Highness will be thoroughly assured of his fidelity and devotion. His aim is the glory of God, and he will use Christian prudence and not have recourse to Roman artifice, too much used at this time by some priests and religious to acquire in a base manner the friendship of princes. He desires, however, to proceed with secrecy so that few may know of his activities, though the purpose of these is good and the intention so pious that, even were his activities manifest to the whole world, he would have no fear.<sup>35</sup>

If Standen uses despatch in the matter, great benefits will ensue for the church, and all the negotiations that the Pope will conduct with the King of England will pass through the hands of the Grand Duke ; for when his Holiness and the King learn that his Highness is the cause of the good effected—and the Canon will make this known in due time—they will without a doubt recognise what they owe to him. But Standen must be diligent and hasten the business, for Persons and other Englishmen who

depend on other princes are not asleep and every day concoct some new device.

He remarks that he himself had sent by Standen as an earnest of his devotion to the Queen an *Agnus Dei*, given to him in the Jubilee year by Fr. Pietro Peracchione, a gift worthy to be presented to the Empress, and the knight had promised to make known to the Queen the Canon's loyalty to her and to the crown of England.<sup>36</sup> Later, he reports that an excellent account of himself has been given to the King, though he does not know as yet by what channel.<sup>37</sup> Whether such a report was, in fact ever made may be doubted; it is certain that neither the King nor Cecil would see him when he arrived in England at the end of 1604. This refusal to see him, however, he ascribed to the machinations of the Jesuits.<sup>38</sup>

One feature of his letters stands out—his antipathy to some Jesuits and particularly to Persons. In his letter of 29 November he relates the arrival at Bologna of three English Jesuits. Two of them had been many years in England, had been imprisoned in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and sent into exile with the injunction not to return on pain of death. According to their reports the conditions in England for Catholics were worse than under the rule of the late queen. May be, he adds, they judge so with reference to their designs of setting up kings after their own manner and of turning the whole world topsy turvy. Scripture, he adds, does not record that Jesus Christ and his apostles desired to convert the world by spilling the blood of others but by shedding their own blood.<sup>39</sup> The Jesuit order is good and holy and needed by the church; he speaks of those of them who do not make madmen of themselves in matters of state among Christian princes. To be sure, these latter are the smaller, though the most powerful, section of the order. For the last twenty years they have caused the greatest damage to the whole Christian world. If, instead of writing a book against the King of Scots' title, they had attended to the conversion of England,<sup>40</sup> that realm would be in far better state and, perchance, few heretics would be left in Christendom.

In a later letter, when reporting news of the Bye Plot and the condemnation of the two priests, William Watson and William Clark, and of

the layman, Anthony Copley, Thornhill makes really surprising statements: Copley is a Jesuit and Clark who, according to him, was in Rome three years previous to the plot, is wholly devoted to Persons<sup>41</sup>. His heart shudders, he continues, "whenever he recalls (and when does he not do so?) the very great harm and scandal that these innovating spirits have caused to Christendom. I know that England ere this would have been converted to the Catholic faith, had not Persons given his attention to other matters than the conversion of souls, and desired to set up kings;—and all for the interests of his own Society, which the Jesuits have always preferred to the public good of the whole world."<sup>42</sup>

But what is the remedy? With all confidence in Vinta's charity and prudence, he suggests that in her letter of thanks to the Pope for the gifts sent by means of Standen, the Queen should deplore the evil conduct of the above priests and Jesuits in not observing the Pope's command to submit to the King and his Holiness's express prohibition of all machinations against him and his kingdom—an order and prohibition which Thornhill himself had transmitted to Standen. In this way she will easily obtain a fearsome excommunication of those who disregard the command of his Holiness. Thus will the king and his councillors and the whole realm remain satisfied and edified by the great charity of Clement VIII and will be under obligation to the Grand Duke, as the author of such a boon, not only to England but to the church and all Christendom. This is the true way to take away the great suspicion and loathing the English government have as regards Catholics, and so, little by little, by kindness and charity to convert the king and the realm. He begs, therefore, the Grand Duke by means of Vinta to lend his aid to his unhappy country. His only motive is God's glory.<sup>43</sup>

In further letters written after hearing that Standen had been imprisoned for writing a letter to Persons, Thornhill discourses on the correspondence between the two. Persons, he states, wrote a letter to Standen at Florence, saying that he wished to treat with him of important negotiations. To this, (against the Canon's advice not to answer it) Standen replied that he only wished to serve God and not meddle in "*rumori et discordie in Inghilterra fra i preti et Jesuiti.*" Such an answer was unpalatable to Persons, who showed his disrelish of it in a second letter



to Standen dated 6 October 1603, which Standen in his turn sent back to Florence from Paris. The Canon, according to his own account, perceiving great malice and cunning in it, transmitted this second letter together with an Italian version of it, and a gloss of his own upon it, to Rome, where, so he believed, it had been seen by the highest authorities. Having received it back from Rome, he encloses in a letter to Vinta his translation of it and the gloss he made upon it. In so acting, the Canon was attempting to denigrate Persons by calumny<sup>44</sup> to the authorities in Rome as well as to Vinta and the Grand Duke, for his statements are entirely false. As regards Persons's first letter, Standen's own opinion of it was very different. "All your long discourse in that of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September," he wrote to Persons, "is true and it were fit to be delivered to his Majesty, but who shall tie the bell about the cat's neck?"<sup>45</sup> More than this, the Canon's version of Persons's second letter from Frascati, dated 6 October, is defective, nor is there anything in it, even in his translation of it, to warrant it being characterized as malicious and cunning.<sup>46</sup>

His animosity goes even further and leads him to make a quite gratuitous and even outrageous charge which he states he put into his gloss on Persons's letter of 6 October 1603, viz. that the Jesuit by that date had determined to betray Standen to King James. A story had been put about that a letter of Standen to Persons, dated 27 December 1603, which was later used to incriminate him, was handed to a man who pretended he was going to Rome, but who, in fact, went to England and delivered the letter to Cecil.<sup>47</sup> His countrymen, Thornhill writes, are deceived when they claim that Standen's letter was sent to England instead of to Persons at Rome. There are two possible explanations, he says: either Persons, with his customary artifice, himself sent the letter to England, or, writing to Paris, he ordered his factor who received it there, to send it at once to the English King, but first to retain a copy of it.<sup>48</sup> Both hypotheses were entirely without foundation; Persons, in fact, never received Standen's letter.<sup>49</sup> How it came into Cecil's hand will be made clear later. This imputation of Thornhill's is, again, an attempt to denigrate Persons to the Roman authorities as well as to Vinta and the Grand Duke. So much, then, for the Canon's correspondence on the Standen affair, which reveals his own activities as well as his character.

In the meantime, whilst this correspondence was taking place, Standen himself, having left Florence on 7 October and embarked at Genoa on the 17<sup>th</sup> for Marseilles,<sup>50</sup> made his way to Paris, where he arrived on 29 November 1603. Very late next night he secretly went to the Nuncio and discussed with him the difficulty of conveying the papal gifts to the Queen in safety.<sup>51</sup> Soon after his arrival he was invited to Fontainebleau by Henry IV and stayed there three days, having several conversations with him and the French Queen. It was probably during this visit that he asked the King, as a way out of his difficulty, to employ the French ambassador in England to offer the papal presents to the English Queen. Henry, however, utterly refused his request and sent him back to the Nuncio; he had not been asked by the Pope to intervene in the matter and was chary of doing so, lest James might take umbrage, and in retaliation might intrigue with the Huguenots and cause considerable trouble.<sup>25</sup> In thus sending Standen back to the Nuncio, Henry may well have been influenced by his suspicion of the negotiations which the Nuncio was conducting with the English Ambassador, whom the French king disliked and of whom he had a very poor opinion.<sup>53</sup>

On his part the Nuncio found no solution to the problem of conveying the presents safely.<sup>54</sup> On the 13 December he reported that Standen had found a safe way, but this proved incorrect, for later in the same month Standen was still very apprehensive about the matter.<sup>55</sup>

Standen's return to England was delayed by an illness he contracted at Fontainebleau which kept him indoors for twenty days.<sup>56</sup> Apart from this, he probably lingered a while, dreading the task he had undertaken of delivering the Pope's gifts to the Queen.<sup>57</sup> Eventually, however, on December 27 he took leave of the King and Queen of France and left Paris next day.<sup>58</sup> On his arrival in England he lay hidden for some days, for he knew James was angry with him, but late in January he ventured to go to court where a ruinous reception awaited him.<sup>59</sup>

The day before he left Paris Standen had written to Persons the letter which, coming into Cecil's hands, was to be employed to incriminate the writer.

“Good Father, within three days after my arrival here one brought me word that Dr. Davison had some letters for me, now for that he had been newly cut of the stone I went to him and received from him three of yours, one of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, another of the 8<sup>th</sup> [vere 6<sup>th</sup>] of October and the third of the 21<sup>st</sup> of the same, so that here is an account of your letters. I was three days at the court of Fontainebleau where I had secret audience with both their Majesties at sundry times and lodging given me with ordinary favours, but touching the point of Evreux neither he nor any other shall be countenanced by the King to that effect; for so much as I can pierce into, such is the misery of the time and the vehemency of suspicion in matter of state, a more miserable heresy than that of Calvin or any other.<sup>60</sup> I am weary of this world to see how things frame; heresy beginning to take new root at home, dissensions and brabbles among our own ecclesiastics, weariness and discontent in most Catholics and no redress from thence but haremos, veremos y diremos; if in the beginning and before the Parliament there appears no relent, adieu pannier, vendages sont faites. All your long discourse in that of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September is true and it were fit to be delivered to his Majesty, but who shall tie the bell about the cat's neck: for mine own part I mean to let slip nothing may be in my possibility to perform, the nearer I approach the less comfort I gather. Only this, the King is content that most shall have a priest in their houses but the priest must not do his function, and forsooth the Jesuits must out and not only out but leave the government of the colleges abroad, a matter abroach in the late queen's days, and this is all I can learn.<sup>61</sup> The Queen is warned from dealing in Catholic causes, and she is very assiduous at sermons, so that I am in a stagger because of my tokens, for that you know the laws in that case and the dangers they threaten, yet will I make the sign of the cross and forward with them,<sup>62</sup> and expect what time will work before I deliver them. As for yourself (and upon my soul this I never spake to any but to yourself) there cannot be one more hateful to the King than you are<sup>63</sup> and to amend errors Worthington inveighing against the King to the English students has heaped more coals—your foes having delivered to his Majesty that he, as a dependant of yours, was set on



by you:<sup>64</sup> Father, what is true or false God only knows, for I do not; and do expressly forbid myself to believe speeches, but it seems strange how men should enter into furies against God to the breaking of their own and other necks also, but it is no more but spitting against the sky, and discovering feeble malice, great hurt done thereby but no good in the earth, and all is laid upon that precious company which I have ever honoured, as in my judgment it seems to deserve; if any man that in outward show seems to depend upon you, have done or uttered anything in favour of Spanish titles it is all unripped, laid down, and the persons, places and times set down, witnesses ready to urge the parties, viz. starving the Earl of Westmoreland, carrying coin out of the realm, starving priests in prisons, incensing princes with untruths, disgracing such as would not tread their path, sending home ignorant youths whereby in disputes (which are now usual) heretics have taken mighty advantages, and driving out of colleges youths and gentlemen that would not become Jesuits or sent with the consent of the Archpriest, and in effect a number of sinister proceedings too long to be reckoned, all which Father Persons is charged with and consequently the company which not a little grieves me.<sup>64a</sup> As for Canon D. Thornhill, I never was acquainted with him but at my being at Venice where his credit and acquaintance was great and so his service to the King in my person necessary and behoveful for me, at Bologna I was entreated for his sake in the house of Quaranta Bolognetti, and there he told me of his voyage to Rome, by him I wrote to San Marcello and by the same means demanded his Holiness' blessing whereupon followed what you know, by him I received answer and good words and all this the honest man performed upon his own expenses, whereby he hath tied me to him, and in a month's conversation I never discovered in him any jot of factious humour.<sup>65</sup> As for Mr. Fitzherbert his and my acquaintance have been long and while I lived in Tuscany no Saturday passed without letter to each other, all to honest end and without prejudice to anyone,<sup>66</sup> to Florence he came upon his own charges to visit me, an increase of bond on my part and an argument of love to King and country, indeed he, poor gentleman, complained of hard measure and of being out of spleen, as he said, tossed from

post to pillar, a thing strange to me considering his long course in that court, and most rueful it was to hear in every place where I came and where English were, heaps of griefs and miscontents. As for our King I gave him his due in all places and religion only excepted, he had no paragon among men. I have been frank and free in all the matters of our land and the state thereof yet there may be good hopes gathered, the King not being bloodily bent, although he be a stiff Protestant, yet may he be won to tolerate and have inclination thereunto, or must be drawn on with fair means, the Queen once Catholic doubtless and reconciled, uncovering those ashes there cannot be but some sparks will appear, and churchmen being in the realm and bloody laws taken away access may be procured and remedies may be found, she is yet young and given to pastimes and youthful cogitations, to pass from Scotland to England is a mighty enchantment, but if the Countess of Arundell with some others do creep near her it is hoped good effects may follow. For those three bloody laws, some about the king who are potent with him of the Scottish nation have made their offer to our Catholics at home that if they will deposit thirty thousand crowns in some sure hands to the use of these Scottish, that the bloody laws shall be hereby annulled and taken away, and are pleased not to touch one penny until the matter be effected: I understand that about this matter hath been written to Rome twice and no answer returneth but words, and words are but wind and no more current.<sup>67</sup> This I write and in this tedious manner because I write all and know not when to write again, take it as it comes and as they say out of your discretion spell and put together. I have laid down disorders out of reports and so difficult to be believed, admit they were true yet to be remedied and time enough as yet, as for the hard conceit of your company now at this instant, it may be remedied again as you see what has passed in France, and now what is passing and will undoubtedly pass to the Company's honour and many good men's comfort,<sup>68</sup> and what I say of the whole Company I say of yourself, time and good and true carriage will accommodate all; and to that end I must tell you, what passed between Father Cotton and myself touching yourself and the remedy of return to the king's favour,<sup>69</sup> which was to bring forward two good works

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which were the colleges then beginning in Spain, Dolman's book was no more than a shoe horn to draw to an end those good works, and that as for Father Persons he neither was nor is Spanish for all that, this and such like must be delivered to his Majesty and this is the clearest subterfuge we have. This father this king brought me to know and invited me one day to one of the father's sermons where I was very near the king, he seems to affect him much and is constantly about his Majesty's person. The first president here (a mighty hinderer of Father Cotton's proceedings)<sup>70</sup> is called with some of the court to be heard(?) before the king about your company, they stand stiff and have concluded nothing as yet, which is the cause he calls them before him, and without them means to proceed in case they stand obstinate, that is to say for Lyons, Dijon and La Flèche. I have even now received your Three Conversions from Dr. Davison, and have sent it to binding, which I will read by the way to England, I thank you much for it and for all other kindnesses and pray that if our meeting be not in this world it may be in heaven, Jesus grant it. From Paris 27 December 1603,

Yours to use and dispose of,  
A. Standen

If there be not and that instantly some due order taken for the reconciliation of our clergy, all will be stark nought and too late to remedy."<sup>71</sup>

Though dated 27 December, this letter was not given to Dr. Davison to forward to Persons until about 12 January, and it was brought to him by one who was not very well disposed to Persons, but who was intimate with Standen all the time he stayed in Paris on his journey from Italy. Persons, however, never received Standen's letter nor that of Davison of 15 January which enclosed it.<sup>72</sup> The English ambassador, however, did receive the letter and, quite contrary to his usual practice of sending copies of intercepted letters, in this case transmitted the original holograph to Cecil.<sup>73</sup> Persons himself remarked on the fact: "But in order to divert men's thoughts," he wrote, "they seized on that other pretext for his [Standen's] imprisonment, viz. the gifts sent by your Holiness for the



Queen, of which they say the English ambassador in Paris was made aware even from Florence,<sup>74</sup> and that was the reason he made such great efforts to obtain some letter of Standen." The letter was, in fact an essential means of confuting by his own words written in his own hand, Standen's denial of his transactions. Furthermore, it was but a very short time before Standen's return to Paris from Italy and before the letter was filched from the house of Davison, that the Ambassador became interested in Davison and procured means "to understand what passed by his hands."<sup>75</sup> One may well ask whether all these circumstances were purely fortuitous.

But how did the letter reach the hands of the Ambassador? That the Scottish spy, John Colville, who was living in Paris, had something to do with obtaining it from Davison's house is certain from what he wrote to Cecil. "I have presumed," the letter runs, "by these to accompany this bearer, by whom I have discovered to my Lord Ambassador the addresses of sundry practisers as one that has haunted amongst them now nearly three years and has been at all their rendezvous, except at Mallos. By him we have had this letter of Standen and a packet of Owen Chanoyne [Canon] of Mantz to his brother Owen of Brussels, whereof I am full sorry we kept not the original, as of the other."<sup>76</sup> But now his master Dr Davison taking some suspicion of him, my Lord Ambassador thought it good that for avoiding of slander he should for a little absent himself and go over by Newhaven<sup>77</sup> . . . So your Honour, I trust, will not take it in evil part that this bearer is only addressed unto you, seeing that from the first time he was employed I did always 'supplie' [supplicate] my Lord Ambassador to present his service unto you as a testimony of my unfeigned devotion. Therefore give him the guerdon of his merits and employ him as you find him capable; for albeit my Lord Ambassador has given him his 'Viatique' very bountifully, yet his recompense is attended as it was promised to come from your hands."<sup>78</sup>

The use that Cecil made of this letter and the consequences that followed will be explained in the final part of this article.

*[Part IV of this article will appear in a later issue]*

## THE EMBASSY OF SIR ANTHONY STANDEN—Part III

### NOTES

1. *Recusant History*, vol. 5, April 1960, p. 194 and note 58. "Mercoledì la mattina mandai via il mio prete, temo che con questi calori il poveraccio non s'amali; aspetto il suo ritorno al più allì 28 di questo, giunto che sarà pensiero di mettermi in viaggio verso casa." Standen to Vinta, Secretary of State to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Palazzo di Pitti, 19 September 1603 (n.s.), printed in *Fatti e Figure del Seicento Anglo-Toscano*, edited by Anna Maria Crinò (Firenze, 1957) p. 94. Mercoledì would be 17 September in 1603 (n.s.) "Il mio prete" can be identified as Canon Edmund Thornhill from subsequent letters such as: Standen to Vinta, 28 September 1603 (n.s.) *ibid.* p. 95, and Aldobrandino to Thornhill, Belvedere, 24 September 1603 (n.s.) translated *infra*.
2. Evidently neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State was aware of his former career as a spy for the English Government.
3. A similar request had been made by the Pope to James himself through Sir James Lindsay before the king had ascended the English throne. The king referred to it in a letter to his Ambassador in Paris, Sir Thomas Parry (November 1605), *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, pp. 299-302. Compare this with Philip III's letter to Escalona, his Ambassador in Rome, 10 March 1605 (n.s.) on Lindsay's return mission to Rome in that year, P.R.O. Transcripts S.P.31/9, bundle 88, and with Lindsay's instructions, S.P.85, bundle 3 f.36. Cf. also Cecil to Parry, January 1605, and his draft to Lennox, January 1605, (P.R.O. French Correspondence).
4. The authorities in Rome had evidently little or no knowledge of Sir Anthony's character: prudent was certainly not an adjective that could be applied to him at this stage of his career, for he was stigmatised elsewhere for his imprudent talk. Cf. *Recusant History*, *art. cit.* pp. 180-191.
5. The letter is printed by A.M. Crino, *op. cit.* p. 96, from the Florentine Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 4184. There is another copy in Paris, Bibl. Nat. fonds français 15976, f. 406.
- 5a. It is instructive and revealing to compare the despatches of Mgr. Bufalo, the Nuncio in France, and his relations with the English ambassador, Sir T. Parry with the ambassador's letters to Cecil. The Nuncio was certainly deluded by the apparent friendliness of the ambassador, and the edict of 22 February 1604, expelling all Jesuits and seminary priests from England, came to him as a totally unexpected thunderclap.
6. An instruction to him dated 12 September 1603 runs as follows: "In this negotiation with her Highness the Queen, care must be taken not to take any step that would be offensive to the King and the realm; for the merits

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of his mother of most glorious memory, and his own moral virtues demand this regard: and for that reason his Holiness begs by daily prayers and tears for his spiritual and bodily well-being. He has great praise for the piety and prudence of her Highness the Queen and promises to give every support that may confirm her in her holy religion. Hence, as the request has been made in her name, he sends her some objects of devotion . . . and confidently hopes that by her means the King will some day become a Catholic. Till that can be achieved, he begs that the children may be imbued in their youthful years with a desire for the faith and a distaste of the heresy that reigns there. Finally, his Beatitude is pleased with your desire to establish a correspondence between him and the Queen, but adds the preceding caution that nothing be done which may exasperate the King and his realm, but that all may be negotiated by such means as a good father and shepherd employs towards his flock, so that he may not console some to the harm and offence of others." (Tenor litterarum Italica lingua scriptarum per Ill<sup>mos</sup>. Cardinales Aldobrandinum et Si<sup>l</sup> Marcelli; quae etiam erant signatae manu secretarii, domini Petri Valentis, ex data 12 September 1603 ad equitem Standenum, Bibl. Vat. Barberini Lat. 2190, f. 7.). This collection of documents and synopses of letters seems to have been made for the purpose of an investigation into the Standen business after the débacle of his arrest. The same collection has this further note: "There were also found letters written in Italian to the same Knight, Standen, of the foresaid date (i.e. 12 September 1603) which are not shown, as they prohibit him to take any steps in this negotiation until he has found out the King's wishes. These letters were written by the very Rev. Bernardinus Paulinus, Datary."

7. Standen to [Aldobrandino], Florence, undated. (Dom. Eliz. 235, no. 73.), erroneously assigned by the calendarist to 1590 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 1581-1590, p. 713). From the opening words it is clear that the letter was written to a Cardinal. The letter itself is not in the hand of Standen, nor has it address, signature or seal. It is endorsed: "A letter from Sir Anthony Standen for the gifts given him by the Pope." From this and internal evidence it can be inferred that it belongs to 1603 when Standen received the gifts, and, as it was Cardinal Aldobrandino who sent them to him by Canon Thornhill, it may be taken that it was Cardinal Aldobrandino to whom it was written. There is no indication of the date at which this copy was received in England. The fact that it is found in the Record Office may suggest that there was at Florence or Rome an informer. This may have been Thornhill, who was quite ready to play the intelligencer in 1602 and again in 1604 (Cf. *infra*.), or it may have been the datary, Paulinus. The datary wrote to King James on 6 January 1605 (P.R.O. S.P. 85, bundle 3, f.8.) informing him that Sir James Lindsay had kept to his instructions in his mission to the Pope and offering his own services. Sir Henry Cary was the bearer of this letter. Later,



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Paulinus, who was in touch with Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador in Venice offered, should the king so desire, to get the Jesuit, Persons, exiled from Rome. Cf. Wotton to Salisbury, Venice, 18 August 1605, printed by Logan Pearsall Smith in *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907) I, p. 333.

8. He is referring to the grant to himself of the same indulgences as had been conceded to Standen. He describes this favour in a letter to Vinta from Bologna on 29 November 1603 (n.s.), Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 920 cc 421-2, (holograph). To Vinta Thornhill recounts a similar enthusiastic description of Standen's ardour and the Grand Duke's encouragement which he had sent in a letter to Cardinal San Marcello, and the pleasure the Cardinal had expressed in his reply. He also describes the indulgence granted him, news of which he had received through Peracchione, who was the Cardinal's confessor.

Paolo Emilio Zacchia was raised to the purple by Clement VIII on 3 May 1599 under the title of San Marcello. Distinguished by his integrity, prudence and zeal, he would probably have been elected Pope after the death of Clement VIII in 1605, but for his grave illness and the warning of the doctor that at most he had but three months to live. He died, in fact, at the age of fifty in that same year. cf. *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali* (Rome 1792-7) VI, p. 61; and Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XI, p. 187.

9. That the Grand Duke and his Secretary of State Vinta, had a good deal to do with the negotiations of Standen with the Holy See is beyond doubt. Standen, after his arrest in January 1604, confessed that the Grand Duke had opened the way for these negotiations. Cf. Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 23 February 1604 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P.31/9, bundle 88 and De Beaumont to Villeroy, 3 and 10 February 1604 (n.s.) British Museum, King's Mss. 124, ff. 398 and 402. The Grand Duke himself in a long despatch to Montecuccoli, his ambassador extraordinary to King James, acknowledged his part in these negotiations. Cf. Grand Duke to Montecuccoli, March 1604, printed by A. M. Crinò *op cit.*, p. 103.
10. Thornhill to Aldobrandino, Bologna, 18 October 1603, Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 919 c. 288. This is a copy in Thornhill's hand, which he enclosed in a letter to Vinta, 22 October 1603, *Ibid.* c. 289. For clarity's sake I have divided the letter into paragraphs, for there are none in Thornhill's Italian copy.
11. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 22 October, 10 December 1603 and 10 January 1604 (n.s.) Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 919c. 289, Filza 920 cc. 534-535 and Filza 921 c. 137.

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12. Such an account is all the more necessary as one does not gather a correct impression of Thornhill from K. M. Lea's article "Sir Anthony Standen and some Anglo-Italian Letters," *English Historical Review*, July 1937.
13. He had seen the Grand Duke just a few days before. Cf. Thornhill to Aldobrandino, 18 October *ut supra*. From this his first letter to Vinta it also appears that he had spoken to the Secretary's daughter.
14. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 22 October 1603 *ut supra*.
15. *Ibid.*
16. "I am by my own will a slave in bond, bound to the great zeal of the great prince and desire to serve him with life itself without any imaginable self-interest." *Ibid.* Cf. also Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 20 March 1604 (n.s.) Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 922 cc. 74-77.
17. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 20 March 1603 *ut supra*.
18. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 22 October 1603 *ut supra*. The passage indeed, reads as if the writer himself were somewhat mentally unbalanced. After protesting that his purpose is to serve the church and cooperate in the conversion of his country, he continues: "This is my intention, this my aim, this my purpose and not worldly ambition, as some Englishmen who follow the court of Rome suspect . . . but they speak nonsense, they are deranged, they act like madmen."
19. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 29 November, 3, 10 and 27 December 1603 ; 10, 24 January, 20 March, 3 and 13 April 1604, *ibid.* Filza 920 cc. 421-422, c.464, cc.534-535, cc.902-905, Filza 921, c.137, c.687-688 and Filza 922, cc.74-75, c.536-537, and c.580.
20. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 22 October, 27 December 1603, 10 January and 20 March 1604 *ut supra*.
21. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 22 October, 10 and 27 December 1603 ; 10, 24 January and 3 April 1604 *ut supra*.
22. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 22 October, 1603 and 20 March 1604 *ut supra*.
23. As regards Standen, cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 April 1604 ; for the Catholic cause, Thornhill to Vinta 29 November and 27 December 1603 *ut supra*.
24. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 22 October, 29 November and 27 December 1603 *ut supra*.
25. In 1603 Giovanni Delfino was promoted to the see of Vicenza, made vacant by the death of Michele Prioli. It was not until 1605 that he was created

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cardinal, with the title of S. Matteo in Merulana. There appears no evidence that Clement VIII ever considered sending him as legate to England; and it is altogether improbable. Cf. *Recusant History*, art. cit., April 1960 pp. 194 *et. seq.*

26. Thornhill to Vinta, Bologna, 27 December 1603 *ut supra*.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Cf. Aureliano Townshend to Cecil, Venice, 9 May 1602, P.R.O., S.P. 99 bundle 2 f.99, and same to same Venice, 15 June 1602, *Cal. Salisbury Mss. XII* p.195.
29. Cf. Parry to Cecil, Paris, 6 October 1604, P.R.O. French Correspondence. Cf. also *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, C.R.S. vol. 41, p. 72 note 4.
30. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 December 1603 *ut supra*.
31. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 and 10 December 1603 *ut supra*.
32. *Ibid.* Cf. also Thornhill to Vinta, 10 January 1604 *ut supra*. Why sending the letters to the Canon to forward them to Aldobrandino would have avoided all possible suspicion, he does not say. It would, surely, have been safer for Vinta to send them in the diplomatic post-bag to the Grand Duke's agent or ambassador in Rome. Part reason for his suggestion may have been as he expressed it "darmi di seguitare il negotio nella maniera colla quale lo habbiamo principiato." In other words that he might continue an active agent in the matter.
33. Thornhill to Vinta, 10 December 1603 *ut supra*. Such wishful thinking was completely divorced from the real state of affairs in England. Yet a little over a year later, after Thornhill had spent but three months in England, he was recommended to the papal Secretary of State by Barberini, the Nuncio in Paris, as a person well informed on matters pertaining to that country. Barberini to Aldobrandino, Paris, 9 March 1605, P.R.O. S.P. 31/9, bundle 88.
34. Standen in his examination acknowledged that he had received letters from Cardinals Aldobrandino, San Marcello and Borghese by way of Vinta. Cf. De Beaumont to Villeroi, 3 February 1604 (n.s.), British Museum, King's Mss. 124, f. 375.
35. Thornhill to Vinta, 10 January 1604 *ut supra*. His explanation why he concealed his use of the diplomatic post-bag to convey the letters seems somewhat laboured.
36. Thornhill to Vinta, 22 October 1603 *ut supra*. The jubilee year was 1600.



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37. Thornhill to Vinta, 20 March 1604 *ut supra*. He adds: "Per la gratia di Dio tutta la nagatione (natione ?) mi volo ben."
38. Cf. Barberini to Aldobrandino, 9 March 1605, P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 88.
39. Brave words from one who sought a safe post in Italy rather than work on the dangerous mission-field of England.
40. He is referring to the Book of Succession. Persons was not the sole author of the book, nor was its purpose to exclude the claim of James, but to expose the arguments for each claimant impartially, in order to counteract the English law which forbade all discussion of the subject. Cf. 'Father Robert Persons and the Book of Succession,' *Recusant History*, October 1957.
41. Thornhill to Vinta, 24 January 1604 *ut supra*. All this is in line with an Appellant document: *Rationes quibus probare licet perfidum hunc recentem D. Watsoni conatum Appellantium Sacerdotum famam nullo modo debere minuere aut debilitare quominus participes fiant meriti apud S. Majestatem*. P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 112. The English version of this document is calendared in *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, pp. 161-163, though with some differences. Just as Thornhill had made the Appellant priest, Clark, a follower of Persons, so in this document it is stated that Watson, another Appellant priest, had gone over to the Jesuit camp, but a discreet silence is observed as regards Clark. The story of Watson's defection to the Jesuits before the Bye Plot is also asserted by W. Gifford in his *Relation*, London, 14 August 1603. Cf. *La Correspondence d' Ottavio Mirto Frangipani*, ed. A. Louant (Brussels, 1942) III, 2, p. 702. Both assertions are entirely false, as can be seen by the statements of Copley, Watson and Clark, but such assertions reveal the technique of the Appellants. Cf. Copley's Declaration, 14 July 1603, Watson's letter to the Lords in Council, 9 August 1603 and his voluntary Declaration 10 August 1603, printed in Tierney-Dodd, *Church History of England*, IV, Appendix, pp. 1-XVII, XVII-XXXIV and XXXIV-XLIX. As regards Clark's attitude to the Jesuits, cf. Clark to Sir Griffin Markham, another of the conspirators, 6 April 1603; same to same before August 1603 and Clark to Bancroft, Bishop of London, 30 June 1603, *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* X V, pp. 35, 222 and 156. Cf. also the Archpriest Blackwell to the Cardinal Protector, Farnese, 14 November and 23 December 1603, Vat. Arch. Borghese II, 448 ab ff. 334 and 333.

The Jesuits, in fact were not at all implicated in the plot, and when there was some rumour of there being such a plot, Garnet advised Blackwell to warn his subjects against any such disturbance. Cf. Garnet to [Persons] 15 June, 19 June, 6 July and 13 August 1603, Arch. S.J. Rom. Anglia 38, II, ff. 172v, 173 and 177. Blackwell took Garnet's advice, and it was through his instrumentality and that of John Gage whom he employed for the purpose,

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that Barnaby, another Appellant priest, was forced to reveal the plot. Cf. Blackwell to Gage, 26 June 1603, Westminster Cathedral Archives, vol. 7 no. 91, John Gage to Cecil, 28 June 1603, with the enclosed letter of Gage to Blackwell, *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, p. 153, and Gage's long account of the action of Blackwell, himself and Barnaby in the matter, 9 July 1603, Arch. S.J. Rom., Anglia 31,I,f.248. Cf. also Bancroft to Cecil, 9 August 1603, *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, p. 227.

42. Thornhill to Vinta, 24 January 1604 *ut supra*.
43. *Ibid.* That the Jesuits disobeyed the Pope's command in this matter is not true, as their private letters show. Cf. 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen,' II, *Recusant History*, April 1960 note 16. Cf. also Aquaviva to Garnet, 19 July 1603, Arch. S.J. Rom. Fland-Belg. I,II,p.88.
44. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 and 13 April 1604 *ut supra*. His Italian translation of Persons' letter to Standen, dated at Frascati, 6 October 1603 is still preserved at Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 919, c. 75. It is in Thornhill's hand. The gloss the Canon made upon it has, unfortunately, not yet been found.
45. Standen to Persons, Paris, 27 December 1603 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P.35, n.61, cited *infra*.
46. From the enquiry made by the Roman authorities after Standen's imprisonment, it is known that Persons wrote three letters to Standen, Cf. "Tenor trium litterarum Patris Personii ad dictum Standenum scriptarum anglica lingua mensibus 7bris, Octobris et 9bris," Bibl. Vat. Barberini Lat. 2190, f 3. Standen, however, seems to have been mistaken in thinking that he received the first letter, that of 22 September, at Paris. Dr. Davison, a professor of law in Paris, and Persons's agent for his letters, stated that there were two letters from the Jesuit which, according to his instructions, he handed to Standen in Paris: one, which the Nuncio sent to him on Standen's arrival, undated but written when Persons was not in Rome, the other of a later date which came by post from Lyons. Cf. Davison to Persons, Paris, 15 December 1603 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 78, vol. 50, f. 136. Standen, on the other hand, reported that he had received three letters from Dr. Davison. "Within three days after my arrival here," he wrote, "one brought me word that Dr. Davison had some letters for me, now for that he had been lately cut of the stone, I went to him and received three of yours, one of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, another of the 8<sup>th</sup> [vere 6<sup>th</sup>] of October, and the third of the 21<sup>st</sup> of the same"; Standen to Persons, 27 December (n.s.) *ut supra*. Standen, who left Florence on 7 October, should have received the first letter, that of 22 September there, as, indeed, Thornhill implies that he did. Cf. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 April 1604 *ut supra*. It may be that Standen took it with him

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unanswered to Paris, and forgot, when writing some weeks after he had received the letters in Paris from Dr. Davison, that this was not one of them.

The second letter of Persons, according to Thornhill, was that of 6 October from Frascati. This agrees with Davison's statement of a letter written by the Jesuit when he was not at Rome, though he also stated that the letter was undated. From Persons's own statement, too, it is known that he did write a letter to Standen from Frascati at the Pope's command, in reply to one from Standen who suggested that Bishop of Evreux might be sent to James. (Persons to Clement VIII, Rome, 11 May 1604, Vat. Arch. Borghese 124 G2, f. 45. Cf. also Persons to Aldobrandino, Rome, 28 September 1603, *ibid.* f. 35 quoted in *Recusant History*, art. cit. April 1960, pp. 196-197.) Of the letter of October 6 C. Grene S.J., the seventeenth century copyist, made a short synopsis, (Stonyhurst, Coll. P.421.) Short though this synopsis is, it makes clear the defective character of Thornhill's Italian translation of the letter; for there are mentioned in Grene's note details that do not appear in the Canon's version.

Why Thornhill, even from his own translation, should have characterized the letter as malicious and cunning is not evident. It may be that what upset him was the following passage: "I am glad," wrote Persons, "that you had such a good opinion of the person, through whom that friend of Vicenza has taken the presents from Rome. I beg you to confirm me, if possible, in the hope you have of that person. He of Vicenza did not wish to see us. But the principal agents in the matter told me all." It was the Pope himself, in fact, who informed Persons of the business entrusted to Standen. (Persons to Clement VIII, 11 May 1604 *ut supra.*) This may well have vexed the Canon, who desired the matter to be concealed from Persons. The friend of the Canon mentioned in the above quotation of Persons was probably Nicholas Fitzherbert, to whom Standen, in his answer of 27 December, referred. Persons, as later letters reveal, had no good opinion of Fitzherbert any more than of Thornhill himself.

There is a curious incident about this letter of 6 October 1603. It reached the Nuncio before Standen's arrival at Paris, and he sent a messenger with it to Dr. Davison. On delivering the letter, the messenger asked Davison who was Sir Anthony and who was his correspondent. Davison satisfied his curiosity about Standen, but as regards the writer of the letter, replied that he could not gather the name, but, belike, it was some one of the knight's acquaintance. He further said that he would keep the letter for him, but the messenger took it back to the Nuncio who sent it to Davison again only after Standen's arrival in Paris. Cf. Davison to Persons, Paris, 15 December 1603 (n.s.) *ut supra.* The incident is strange, for the messenger, presumably,



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was acting on the instructions of the Nuncio, yet the latter knew quite well who Sir Anthony was, Standen having paid him a visit secretly on his first arrival in Paris in July 1603. Cf. *Recusant History*, *art. cit.*, April 1960, p.189. Dr. Davison evidently thought it somewhat strange, as he parried the second part of the enquiry, as to who was the writer, and conceived the incident of sufficient importance to mention it in his letter to Persons.

47. The story appears to have been spread abroad to cover the theft of the letter from Davison's house, which is revealed in the contemporary documents and which Cecil, despite the king's enquiry, carefully concealed from James. Cf. Cecil to Parry, 24 January 1604, P.R.O., S.P. 78/57 ff. 12-18.
48. Thornhill to Vinta, 3 April 1604 *ut supra*.
49. Cf. Persons to Clement VIII, Rome, 11 May 1604 (n.s.). The pertinent part of this letter will be quoted in a later article.
50. The dates are new style. Thornhill gives the date of Standen's departure from Florence in his letter to Aldobrandino of 18 October, quoted above. Relying on a despatch of Giulio Sali, Genoa, 17 October 1603, (Florence, Arch. di Stato, Fondo Mediceo, Filza 219, c. 2181) A. M. Crinò gives the date of his embarkation from Genoa. His departure from Florence was delayed by his waiting for the return of Thornhill from Rome. He intended to leave Florence on 29 September; cf. Persons to Aldobrandino. 28 September 1603, (Vat. Arch. Borghese III 124 g<sup>2</sup> f. 35.)
51. Bufalo to Aldobrandino, Paris, 30 November 1603, P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 87.
52. Cf. Henry IV to De Bethune, 2 December 1603 (n.s.) Paris. Bilb. Nat. fonds francais, 3845 f. 125. In a despatch of 7 December 1603 Villeroy informed De Beaumont of Henry's refusal of Standen's request and the reasons for it, *ibid.* 15976, f. 490. For Standen's visit to Fontainebleau cf. Standen to Vinta, Paris, 22 December, and to the Grand Duke, 27 December, 1603, printed by A. M. Crinò, *op. cit.* pp. 98 and 99, and Standen to Persons, Paris, 27 December 1603, *ut supra*.
53. For Henry's suspicion of the negotiations between the Nuncio and the English ambassador, cf. Henry IV to De Bethune, 2 December 1603 *ut supra*. Though it failed ultimately in its purpose, it was papal policy at the time to adopt a benevolent attitude to James in the hope of obtaining some relief for his Catholic subjects. The negotiations can be followed in the correspondence between the Nuncio and Aldobrandino, P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundles 87 and 88. The papal Secretary of State, while counselling the Nuncio to keep on friendly terms with the ambassador, advised him to proceed cautiously and to trust Henry IV, for the ambassador was trying to disturb the good relations between the Holy See and the French King. (Aldobrandino to Bufalo,

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10 February 1604 (n.s.) *ibid.* bundle 88.) Evidence of Henry's dislike of Parry is given in a dispatch of the Nuncio in which he reported that in a recent audience Henry had broken out in anger against the ambassador for his dealing with and abetting the Huguenots. (Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 13 December 1603 (n.s.) *ibid.* bundle 87.) A little later Henry expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms. "Parry," he wrote, "allows himself to be persuaded by the last person who talks to him; to such a degree is he imbecile, as one who applies himself more to his books than to a knowledge of affairs." Further in the same letter he declared: "It is impossible to behave with greater impertinence and malice than does the Ambassador of England, for he lets it appear in everything that he is seeking a quarrel. His impertinence arises from his weakness of character and from the malice of those who possess his ear, who lead him and move him as they will, and I know that these have been won over by the mutinous and factious of the pretended reformed religion who strive by all means to make a breach between me and the King of England." (Henry IV to De Beaumont, 17 January 1604 (n.s.) quoted by H. Fouqueray S.J. in *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, II, pp. 688-689.

54. After Standen's arrest he averred that he had counselled Standen to proceed to England and leave the gifts behind him in his charge. (Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 23 February 1604 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 88.) There appears no hint of this in the immediately contemporary despatches. Years later when George Conn arrived in Paris with papal presents for another English Queen, the then Nuncio at once reported that Conn had thought it better to leave them behind in Paris rather than take them with him to England.
55. Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 13 December 1603 (n.s.) *ibid.* bundle 87, and Standen to Persons, 27 December 1603, *ut supra*.
56. Standen to Vinta, 22 December, and to the Grand Duke, 27 December 1603, printed by A. M. Crinò, *op. cit.* pp. 98 and 99.
57. Cf. Standen to Persons, 27 December 1603, *ut supra*.
58. In his letter to Vinta, dated 22 December 1603, printed by A. M. Crinò, *op. cit.*, p. 98, Standen informed him that he would depart for England after the Christmas festival, and in one to the Grand Duke, 27 December 1603 (n.s.), *ibid.* p. 99, he reported that he had taken leave of their Majesties that morning and would leave for England the following morning.
59. His concealing himself because of the anger of the King is reported by a gentleman who left England on 21 January and arrived in Paris on 31 January (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 88. Cf. also Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 23 February 1604, *ibid.* According to a despatch of Nicolo Molin, the Venetian

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Ambassador in England, dated 5 February 1604 (*Venetian Cal.* 1603-1607, p. 131.) Standen had arrived at court ten days previously. Cecil reported his arrival and arrest in a letter to Parry, 24 January 1604 (o.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 78/51, ff. 12-18.

60. He is referring to his suggestion made earlier in a letter to Persons, of sending the Bishop of Evreux to King James. Cf. *Recusant History*, art. cit., April 1960, pp. 196-197.
61. Standen had little or no authority for stating that priests would be allowed in the houses of Catholics. It was but a little over two months after the date of his letter that James issued a proclamation on 22 February 1604 (o.s.) exiling all Jesuits and Seminary priests. There is no doubt, however, that the Appellant priests endeavoured to have the Jesuits, the secular priests who supported them, and the Archpriest, expelled out of England. Some references to the documents proving this will be found in *The Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, C.R.S. vol. 41, p. 93, n. 14, but additions could be made to the list. Cf. the report written by the secular priest, John Cecil for King James and his Council, describing the intrigues of Christopher Bagshawe in France with the aid of the English Ambassador there (Westminster Cathedral Archives, vol. 7, no. 93). A copy of Cecil's report, together with a Latin translation of it was sent by the Nuncio in France to Aldobrandino on 10 August 1603 (P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 87). A Latin translation is printed in *La Correspondence d'Ottavio Mirto Frangipani*, iii, 2, p. 857, from Vat. Arch. Borghese III, 98d<sup>3</sup>, f. 158. For Bagshawe's activities see also "Articuli propositi per Dm Bagshaum", 17 August 1603 (Archives of the English College Valladolid, leg. 5); W. Crichton S.J. to Aquaviva, Paris 27 August 1603 (Arch. S.J. Rom. Gall. 94, f. 19) and Parry to Robert Cecil, Paris 23 September 1603 (P.R.O. French Correspondence).
62. From "of my tokens" to "with them" is underlined in the manuscript. By the Statute, 13 Eliz. c. 3, whoever shall bring in to these realms any Agnus Dei, crosses, pictures or beads or offer them to any person to be used; the person so offering and the person receiving them for that end incurs a praemunire unless the party receiving them discover the bringer in three days to a Justice of the Peace; and the Justice incurs a praemunire, if he does not discover the matter to one of the Privy Council within 14 days. Cf. *The Penal Laws against Priests, and Popish Recusants, Nonconformists and non-jurors*, London, 1723, p. 9.
63. Standen had in fact more than once told the Grand Duke that the King had a particular antipathy to Persons for having written against his (James's) succession. (Cf. Grand Duke to Montecuccoli, 12 March 1604 (n.s.) printed by A. M. Crinò, *op. cit.* p. 103.)



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64. Thomas Worthington was at this date the President of the English College, Douay.
- 64a. Hostility to the Jesuits and particularly to Persons had been deliberately fostered for some years. Some of the calumnies spread abroad to defame and discredit the Jesuits are dealt with in *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, C.R.S. vol. 41, p. 81, n. 1; p. 93, n. 14; and p. 130, no. 40. Persons was well aware of this artificially created hostility and endeavoured to counter it. Cf. Persons to the Earl of Angus, 24 January 1600 (P.R.O. Scot. Eliz. 66, n. 6); same to same, 14 November 1600 (Stonyhurst Anglia II, n. 64) and Persons to N.T. [=Garnet] 24 May 1603 (P.R.O. Dom. James I, 1, n. 84). He also made his position clear to James through noblemen returning to Scotland, and sent a very straightforward letter to the King by Sir James Lindsay, stating that his only objection to the King's accession had been that he was not a Catholic (Persons to James VI, Rome 14 August 1602, Stonyhurst Anglia III, n. 20, cf. also Persons to James I, 18 October 1603, *ibid.* no. 36). It is clear that James himself after his accession realized, as did his government, the pacific attitude towards him of the Jesuits and of Persons himself, and Persons was quite aware that they knew. In a letter to Clement VIII he wrote, "Moreover the King knows well that by your Holiness' orders I have written both to the Archpriest and to the superior of the Jesuits and to various Catholics, impressing this point [i.e. pacific behaviour] very strongly on them, and some of the letters have fallen into his [i.e. the King's] hands." (Persons to Clement VIII, Rome, 11 May 1604 *ut supra*.)
65. Neither Thornhill's letters nor his later conduct supports this statement; it would seem that either Standen was not telling the truth or that Thornhill had given him a false impression.
66. He is referring not to Thomas Fitzherbert, who only arrived in Rome about the end of 1601, but to Nicholas Fitzherbert, the inveterate enemy of Persons. One may doubt the phrase, "all to honest end", for Standen is referring to his former stay in Florence when he acted as an intelligencer of the English Government. Cf. *Recusant History*, art. cit., April 1960, note 57.
67. On this matter cf. *Ibid.* pp. 198 ff.
68. He is referring to the negotiations between the Nuncio in France and Henry IV for the recall of the Jesuits who had been banished by several 'Parlements' of France from Paris and other parts of that country. Cf. H. Fouquieray *op. cit.* tom. II, l. II cc. V and VI and l. III, cc. VI and VII.
69. Both Henry IV and his Ambassador in Rome, De Bethune, had been alienated from Persons during the appeal of the Appellants in 1602.

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70. Achille de Harlay whose son De Beaumont was French Ambassador in England.
71. Standen to Persons, Paris, 27 December 1603 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 35, n. 61, (spelling modernised) holograph, addressed in Standen's hand: "to the Rev. Father in Christ Father Robert Persons," and endorsed by Levinus Monk, Cecil's secretary: "Sir Anthony Standen to father persons a dangerous letter."
72. Dr Davison wrote to Persons: "Although I was much consoled by your Reverence's letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of February to hear of your health, yet it caused me considerable anxiety to see no mention of my letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of January with which went one from Sir Anthony Standen for your Reverence in reply to yours. This letter was brought to me about 15 days after the departure of Sir Anthony by an individual who was very intimate with him all the time he stayed in Paris after his return from Italy, though not very well disposed to your Reverence: he told me, however, that he would give me the letter just as Sir Anthony had instructed him." Davison to Persons, Paris, 29 March 1604, enclosed in Persons to Clement VIII, 11 May 1604, Vat. Arch. Borghese III. 124 g<sup>2</sup> f. 45. As Standen left Paris 28 December 1603 (note 58 *supra*) his letter to Persons would have been given to Davison about 12 January 1604 (n.s.).
73. As regards Parry's practice of sending only copies of letters and not the originals cf. Parry to Cecil, 29 September 1603 (P.R.O. French correspondence) enclosing seven such copies as well as copies of three letters to Christopher Bagshaw, all which copies are still extant. (*Ibid.*) Referring in the same despatch to letters addressed to Bernard Gardiner, he wrote: "I caused the originals to be sealed again and delivered to the messenger who hath promised me as good service in return of Mons. Bernard's answer." In a letter to Cecil of 5 January 1604 (*Ibid.*) he wrote: "I send your Lordship the copies of sundry letters that are come into my hand . . . The originals of all the letters were communicated unto me under the hands and seals of the writers by such means as I have heretofore certified." *Ibid.* Cf. also Parry to Cecil, 26 February, 16 June and 21 October 1603 and 18 June 1604. (*Ibid.*) There are, moreover, still extant copies of several such intercepted letters so sent from Paris: Persons to Davison, 20 October 1603, to Crichton, 21 October 1603, Davison to Owen, 12 December 1603, to Persons, 14 December 1603, (*Ibid.*) and Owen to his brother, Hugh, 7 December 1603, *Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, p. 293 in connection with which cf. Colville to Cecil, Paris, 24 February, (*Ibid.* XVI, p. 27.)
74. Persons to Clement VIII, 11 May 1604 *ut supra*. Persons's statement that Parry had been informed of the papal gifts Standen was bringing to the Queen is confirmed by the Paris Nuncio. In a letter as early as 11 January 1604, long before he knew of the arrest of Standen, he informed Aldobrandino: "A letter has been written from those parts to the English Ambassador

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stating that Anthony Standen, whilst he was in Florence treated with his Holiness and asked for 30000 scudi to give to some favourites of the King of England by means of which there would be obtained an abrogation of the laws against Catholics and further that the said Anthony carried a present in name of the Pope to that Queen; and of all this the Ambassador has made a great commotion, and I know he has reported this to his King." Bufalo to Aldobrandino, 11 January 1604 (n.s.) P.R.O., S.P. 31/9, bundle 88. Parry, therefore, knew that Standen was conveying papal gifts to the Queen before the theft of Standen's letter. (Cf. note 72 *supra*.)

75. "The Jesuits and Seminary priests," Parry reported to Cecil, "follow their traffic in all places, yet it seemeth by some of their letters, they like not their markets. Their banker and their oracle is Dr Davison, a professor of law, lodged in the College of Cambray (in Paris). He was of late cut of the stone, and as I am informed, not likely to escape. Nevertheless letters come to him daily from Rome, from Spain, from the Low Countries and from divers parts of this realm and from England. I have found means, though with charge, to understand what passeth by his hands and according to the success will proceed. The party sent unto me divers of later dates, which having perused I caused one of them to be copied and so have enclosed you the copy." (Parry to Cecil, 22 October 1603, P.R.O. French Correspondence.)
76. The letter referred to seems to be that of December 1603 (*Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XV, p. 293.)
77. For Davison's concern at receiving no acknowledgment from Persons of his letter to him dated 15 January 1604, enclosing Standen's letter to Persons of 27 December 1603, cf. note 72 *supra*.
78. John Colville to Cecil, Paris, 24 February 1604. (*Cal. Salisbury Mss.* XVI, p. 27.) At this time Colville, who had been a Presbyterian minister in Scotland, was outwardly professing to be Catholic. Late in 1599, when he was in London practically destitute, he offered his services to Cecil. He crossed to France early in 1600, became a Catholic and some time later made a pilgrimage to Rome. The sincerity of his conversion has not unnaturally been questioned. It is certain, as the above letter shows, that he continued to act as an agent for Cecil. It is probable, indeed that he became a Catholic for that very purpose. "Colville," wrote Winwood, "doth go to Mass and tells me he must temporise, otherwise he shall do no service. I referred his conscience to himself." Winwood to Sir Henry Neville, Paris, 17 July 1603 (o.s.) Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, London, 1725, I, p. 227. Cf. also, John Loverden to Dudley Carleton, Paris, 5 July 1603 (o.s.) P.R.O. French Correspondence. Persons referred to a Scot who took part in obtaining Standen's letter. (Persons to Clement VIII, 11 May 1604, *ut supra*.) This was presumably Colville.



# THE PARENTAGE AND FAMILY OF THE MARTYR BLESSED JOHN WALL, O.F.M.

*By* T. B. TRAPPES-LOMAX

When Bishop Challoner wrote his account of the martyr Bl. John Wall in the second volume of his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, which was published in 1742, he used as his authority transcripts of some documents which then belonged to the Douai seminary<sup>1</sup> and wrote, "John Wall . . . was born in Lancashire in 1620 of a gentleman's family, possessed at that time of about £500 a year, which, he and his elder brother William . . . entering into religion, was devolved to the third brother and by him enjoyed at the time of the execution of our confessor [i.e. in 1679]. Mr John was sent over young to the English College at Doway."<sup>2</sup>

A manuscript,<sup>3</sup> written by a priest, whose name is not known, but who had been acquainted with John Wall for eighteen years in 1660, contains these words, "I am to acquaint you that William Wall his father was an Esquire, linially descended from an ancient family seated in Norfolk; his estate being very considerable and his persuasion being Roman Catholic was the occasion that in time of persecution he was tormented and troubled above his other neighbours and at length constrained to leave Norfolk and to remove into Lancashire, where after he had continued sometime his virtuous lady in recompense as it were of her sufferings was happily brought to bed and delivered of her son and heir Mr Francis,<sup>4</sup> christened by the name of John." That Challoner was misled by his authorities into reckoning that William, the brother who also entered religion, was older than John, is shown by evidence from the college records of Douai and Rome which proves John to be the elder, and hence "heir":—

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*BLESSED JOHN WALL, O.F.M.*

On or shortly before 5 November 1641 John Wall entered the English College, Rome, and was described as using the alias March or Marsh ('Martius' in the Latin) a Lancastrian, about 21 years old, the son of Catholic parents, himself always a Catholic and baptized by a Catholic priest.<sup>5</sup> He was therefore born about 1620 (as Challoner says), and this date is confirmed by the necrology of the English Franciscan Province which states that he was aged 59 at the time of his martyrdom on 1 September (new style) 1679.<sup>6</sup>

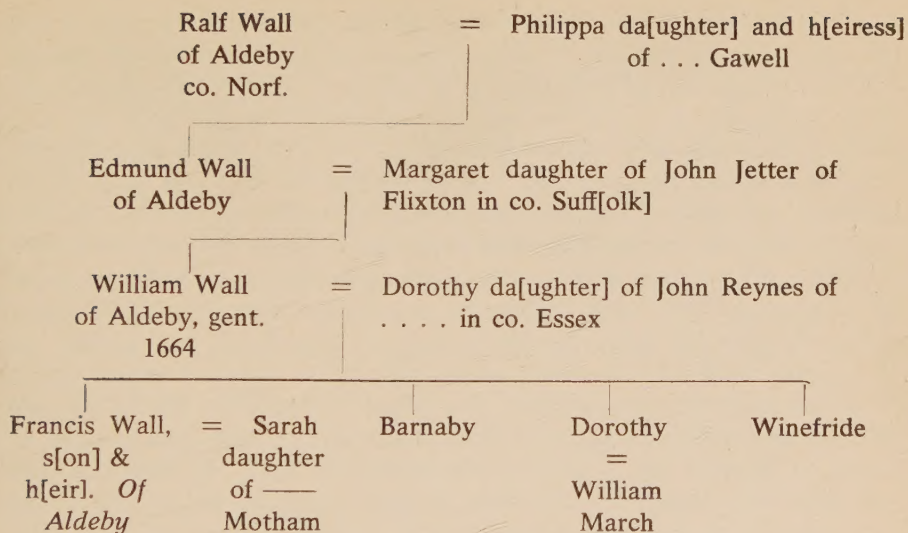
William Wall, on the other hand, also using the alias March or Marsh, a son of William and Dorothy Wall, Catholics and gentlefolk, arrived at the Douai seminary on 9 July 1644,<sup>7</sup> and on or shortly before 1 December 1645 he entered the English College, Rome, being described in the records of the college as using the alias Marsh, a Lancastrian, and about 20 years old.<sup>8</sup> He, therefore, was born about 1625.

What has been proved so far is that John Wall and his younger brother William, born respectively about 1620 and 1625, were the sons of a William and Dorothy Wall, Catholics and gentlefolk, originally of Norfolk who some time before 1620 had taken refuge in Lancashire from the pressure of persecution.

The description of John and William Wall in the register of the English College has led not unnaturally to the suggestion that they belonged to the Lancashire family of Wall which, originating in the town of Preston and prospering in trade, acquired in the second half of the sixteenth century Chingle Hall in the township of Whittingham and Moor Hall on the outskirts of Preston. Pedigrees of both these Lancashire branches were recorded by Sir William Dugdale in 1664 or 1665.<sup>9</sup> In neither is there a William Wall with a wife Dorothy. We must look elsewhere for the martyr's family.

At the Visitation of Norfolk in 1664, William Wall of Aldeby<sup>10</sup> gentleman, registered the following pedigree: <sup>11</sup>

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The will of this William Wall, which was proved on 17 May 1666,<sup>12</sup> mentions

- (a) his wife Dorothy
- (b) his son Francis and his wife Sarah and their sons William and Edward
- (c) his son Barnaby
- (d) his daughter Dorothy March, who is left 20/- to buy a ring
- (e) his daughter Winefride, who is left two closes<sup>13</sup> in Aldeby.

How strongly Catholic this family was is clear from the following evidence:

Dorothy Wall, daughter of William Wall and Dorothy Reines, born at Richmond, Surrey, took the habit on 26 May 1641 in the 23rd year of her age—she was therefore born about 1618—in the Franciscan convent at Nieuport, but left the convent at the end of her noviceship, returned to England and married.<sup>14</sup>

Barnaby Wall, yeoman, of Aldeby and Winefride Wall, spinster, of Aldeby were convicted of recusancy in 1665.<sup>15</sup>



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It is obvious, therefore, beyond reasonable doubt that the martyr was the eldest son of William Wall of Aldeby and his wife Dorothy Reynes and that his parents left Norfolk for Surrey in or before 1618 and moved on to Lancashire in or before 1620, and afterwards settled again in their family home, where his father died in 1666.<sup>16</sup> The third son, Francis, succeeded to the property and was still living in 1679, the year of his brother's martyrdom. Why, then, does neither John nor his brother William occur in the pedigree with which their father supplied the herald in 1664? The answer is not far to seek. John had been ordained priest on 3 December 1645<sup>17</sup> and William at an unknown date before 16 January 1650/1.<sup>18</sup> John left Rome for England on 12 May 1648<sup>19</sup> and William on 16 January 1650/1.<sup>20</sup> In 1664, when their father supplied the pedigree, John was exercising his function of a priest in England. On 11 January 1668 William was professed as a Benedictine in England<sup>21</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that he was not in England in 1664. In the same year that John was hanged at Worcester, William was tried for his life at the Old Bailey on the grounds of priesthood.<sup>22</sup> Priesthood was not an occupation which a prudent parent was anxious to publicize. To report the existence of his two eldest sons ran the risk of embarrassing questions. Better not mention them at all.

The arms of the Lancashire Walls were argent a bend gules between three boars' heads coupéd sable armed argent;<sup>23</sup> those of the Norfolk Walls argent on a cross sable five lioncels rampant or.<sup>24</sup> This disparity is a valid argument that the two families were wholly distinct. There is not the least reason for supposing that when William Wall of Aldeby moved to Lancashire he knew of the existence of the Lancashire family, still less was acquainted with it. If anyone should assert that John Wall or his brother William were born at Chingle Hall or Moor Hall, he can properly be asked to produce his evidence.<sup>25</sup>

## NOTES

1. The transcripts are now at Oscott, the originals in the Westminster Archives.
2. It is not possible to say in what year he went to Douai since he entered the school, not the seminary and the Douai Diary records entries to the latter, not the former.



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3. It is preserved in the archives of the English Franciscan Province. It is entitled "Some reflections upon the life and death of Mr Francis Webb directed and dedicated to his penitents in the counties of Warwick, Worcester and Stafford by his true honorer."
4. The title of the manuscript makes it clear that "Mr. Francis" refers to John Wall's alias of "Francis Webb."
5. *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe*, I (C.R.S. vol. XL) p.25. As will be shown later, March was the married name of his sister Dorothy.
6. "Necrology of the English Province of Friars Minor," printed in C.R.S. vol. XXXIV, p.260.
7. "The Fourth Douay Diary," printed in C.R.S. vol. XI, pp. 443, 444.
8. *Liber Ruber* I (C.R.S. vol. XL) p. 35.
9. *The Visitation of . . . Lancaster, made in the year 1664-5*, Chetham Society (Old Series) vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 323, 324.
10. Aldeby is some six miles west of Lowestoft.
11. *The Visitation of Norfolk Anno Domini 1664*, (Norfolk Record Society vol. V,) pp. 228, 229.
12. It is preserved in the District Probate Registry, The Close, Norwich, folio 25.
13. Small fields enclosed by hedges.
14. "The Book of Clothings" printed in C.R.S. vol. XXIV, pp. 25, 26.
15. "A List of Convicted Recusants in the reign of Charles II" printed in C.R.S. vol. VI, p. 291.
16. That the family was back in Norfolk by 1664 is shown by the herald's Visitation already cited. When John's brother William later became a Benedictine of the English Community of Lamspring in Germany, he described himself as "William Wall of Albu in the county of Norfolk" (Dom Bede Camm, *The Life of Blessed John Wall*, Birmingham, 1932, p. 6). In H. N. Birt, *Obit Book of the English Benedictines* (Edinburgh, 1913) p. 68, it is stated that William was born c. 1625 at Aldburgh, Suffolk [read Aldeby, Norfolk]. If so, it would suggest that the family had returned to Norfolk by 1625, but would conflict with the statement of the *Liber Ruber* (above, note 8) that he was of Lancashire birth. Camm comments that William's own statement at Lamspring refers "to his ancestral home, rather than to his birthplace"; the birthplace alleged in the *Obit Book* is clearly based on a misunderstanding of his statement, as well as a misidentification of the place.

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17. *Liber Ruber I* (C.R.S. vol. XL) p. 25.
18. *ibid.*, p. 35.
19. *ibid.*, p. 25.
20. *ibid.*, p. 35.
21. Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
22. R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* (edition of 1924) p. 565.
23. Chetham Society (Old Series) vol. LXXXVIII, p. 323.
24. Norfolk Record Society vol. V, p. 228.
25. Camm (*op. cit.*) who makes this suggestion, was, however, correct in stating that the martyr's family came from Aldeburgh in Norfolk. He calls attention (p. 7) to the epitaph of "William Wall, eldest son of Francis Wall of Aldeby, Gent," who died in 1685, and conjectures, correctly as it now appears, that he was the son of that third brother to whom the two elder sons handed over the family fortune and estate. But the Norfolk visitation, which suggests that the Norfolk Walls were not connected with the Preston family, and which fills in many details of the martyr's family, was not available in print when Camm was writing.